India - Sri Lanka Relations after LTTE: A Study of Conflicts and Cooperation (2009-2019)

A

Synopsis

Submitted in the partial fulfilment for the requirement of

Doctor of Philosophy

In

Political Science

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2020

Introduction

India – Sri Lanka relations evolved and reconstructed along with the time and also shared with the legacy of intellectual, cultural, religious and linguistic interactions. Both countries share massive trade, services and investment and development co-operation (Melagoda, 2018, 1). In the initial phase, both states in post independence period have undergone healthy and cordial relations. However, 1980s era witnessed a deterioration of ties with acceleration of Eelam war in Sri Lanka. This situation remained uninterrupted until Sri Lankan government defeated LTTE in May 2009 (Thapliwila, 2014, 1). The three decades long civil war culmination has embarked on a new era of India's relations with Sri Lanka which is considered as a 'pearl of Indian Ocean' (Pethivagoda, 2015). Despite wax and wane, amiable ties between both states continue. The doyens of both countries, in concord with the vision of future of India – Sri Lanka relations have maximized Indian assistance to Sri Lanka regarding science, technology, culture and education (Aliff, 2014, 2). Geo-political location of India and Sri Lanka also influences the bilateral relations. The intermitted relationship between India and Sri Lanka after the end of civil war has compelled India to make its finest endeavor to turn Sri Lanka on its side so that in duration of need it acknowledge India first, prior to any other state (Pant, 2018, 116). India's developmental assistance projects for Internally Displaced Persons (IDP) and deprived sections of the Sri Lankan dwellers has marked remarkable breakthrough further for invigorating India - Sri Lanka acquaintanceship (MHRD Report, 2017). India is fervently subsidizing relief reformatories for natural catastrophes (Senanayake, 2019, 1).India is positively involved in assisting to rebuild the war torn areas in Sri Lanka. However, India declined to avail the trust of Sri Lanka with its staunch support to war crime probe in Sri Lanka by UN. The agitated political issues between India and Sri Lanka with Sri Lankan tilt towards India's rival countries; China and Pakistan have fermented India Sri Lanka vigorous ties. Indian inclination towards USA led to mitigate India's appearance for neighboring states. Taking its profit, China is sprouting investment in Sri Lanka (Harjoni, 2013, 17). Despite all such contentions, India - Sri Lanka relations are amiable and India is consistently making efforts to upgrade the relations. Further, however, Sri Lanka has been benefitted from India- China rivalry in the region.

Statement of the Problem

India and Sri Lanka shares congenial relations. Succeeding civil war, India has backed the relocation process and conceded on restoration of war torn areas in Sri Lanka. India comforted in development assistance projects for internally displaced persons and overall citizens of Sri Lanka. Indian deportation of intelligence and promulgation of Line of Credit to facilitate in contending terrorism was a phenomenal step. India is the prominent foreign supporter and it endures the biggest trading partner of Sri Lanka. However, post civil war, unsettled humanitarian and political questions with active involvement of India's antagonist states emanate fear for India. When India leaned towards USA, China augmented investment in Sri Lanka; this does not accommodate India's interests. In addition to it, Sri Lankan assurance to China's Belt and Road initiative, detects threat to India's interests in Sri Lanka. China's swiftly enlarging role in Indian neighboring coastal state has developed trust deficit between India and Sri Lanka. Further, Tamil issue has always put the bilateral relations fumbled. India needs to revert Sri Lanka on India's side. Sri Lanka's pro-China policy frightened India's concerns in the region.

Theoretical Framework

"He who is unable to live in society, or who has no need, because he is sufficient for himself, must be either a beast or God."Statement by Aristotle (Politics) is completely true in context of relations among the states; no nation can endure in isolation. Thus they establish relations with other states. Every state possesses some interest, recognized as national interest. In order to accomplish their national interest, states constitute their respective foreign policies and establish relations with other states. Having no relations with a state is also its foreign policy. **Christopher Hill (2003)** defines Foreign policy as "the sum of official external relations conducted by an independent actor (usually a state) in international relations." Foreign policy is the system of activities evolved by communities for changing the behavior of other states and for adjusting their own activities to the international environment."(**Modelsk**i, 1962, 6-7).Foreign policy is stated as "those actions which, expressed in the form of explicitly stated goals, commitments and/ or directive, and pursued by governmental representatives acting on behalf of their sovereign communities, are directed towards objectives,

conditions and actors-both governmental and non-governmental which they want to affect and which lie beyond their territory"(**Walter**, 2002, 331-350).

Identical to Social life, International Politics is blend of conflicts and cooperation. In international relations, despite we fragment limited warmth or perception of mutual coherence (Russett & Stars, 1995, 331).When we debate about concurrence, it crop ups when states engrave their prejudice to the real and probable obligation of others by the usage of strategy of coordination (ir.rochelleterman.com/node/220). Where the opportunity of reinforcing pretends less, the possibility of competition enlarges. So, to carry out goals, collaboration and combat both are obliged (Russett & Stars, 1995, 332).Competition can be derived from the game theory, popular by the name of Prisoners' dilemma, catalogued by Robert Axelrod, it targeted on how the attitude of one can be if the person is in the bearings of a different person (Axelrod, 1984). Democratic Peace theory of Michael Doyle and Brue Russett (1995) emphasized on "liberal" advent as Democratic state fling not to contest with another Democratic State (Baylis, Smith, Owens, 2008, 233). Cobden exemplified "Bonds of eternal peace", that all people are connected with mutual beliefs and conventional monetary culture. In brief, invasion and imperialism are mainly obstructed by the "Spirit of Commerce" (Heywood, 2014, 66).

Liberal ideas are co-operative in nature that focuses on human liberty directing to collaboration, intercommunication and correlation (Toprak, 2018, 49). Liberal thinkers believe that constitutional states would adhere to each other and will act in accordance with the benchmarks of mutual toleration (Jackson and Sorenson, 2008, 99). Immanuel Kant in "Perpetual Peace" states that a world filled with such constitutional and mutually gracious states could escort to installation of "Perpetual Peace" in the world (Gallie, 1978). Jermy Bentham is also of the opinion that the rational interests of constitutional states to solemnize to international law in their Foreign Policies. He states that there is no real conflict between the interests of nations (Rosenblum, 1978). Francis Fukuyama in "The End of History" illustrates that states having liberal ideology are more enduring and tranquil in international relations. Cobden explains that free trade in world can lead to peaceful order and irrespective of size and nature of economies countries define their relations on the basis of their interests (Baylis, Smith, Owens, 2008, 113).

Realist thinker such as Machiavelli concentrate that the world has no centralized authority so the states should act in consonance with dynamic situations. Any state can augment its security by maximizing its domestic capacities, building up its economic powers and forming alliance with other states based on either similar interest. Hobbes in his work "Leviathan" (1651) resolved that states must always try to maximize their power as every state has threat from another state. Morgenthau (1948) has also appropriately stated, "Interest defined in terms of power." Hence, it is necessary to immune their territory and accomplish their national interest (Johri, 2014, 455-462). Kenneth Waltz's landmark text, "Theory of International Politics" (1979) states the anarchic situation connects to the concept of 'self-help', that accelerate states to maximize their security (Baylis, Smith, Owens, 2008, 96). The representative of the theory of offensive realism, John Mearsheimer, notified that if a regional hegemony focus a rival of its comparable strength, it is no longer a big country just to uphold the status quo and there is no doubt that it will do its best to abate and even wipe out its opponents in the distance (Mearsheimer, 2001, 42). Organski illustrating his "Power transition Theory" specifies the use of power in structure of organization between states on global as well as regional levels. This theory reinforced that the state has more power endeavors to dominate international politics, but it is not static; New States with maximization of power also tries to supplant existing super power state (Goudsmit, 2017, 6)."Security Dilemma" is generally considered to be the essential source of conflict between states (Baylis, Smith, Owens, 2008, 231).**Arijit Mazumdar** in his book "Indian Foreign Policy in Transition" presents how India has framed its regional policy with Sri Lanka and other states following the realist approach (Mazumdar, 2014).

Constructivist Alexander Wendt's (1992) states that 'Anarchy is what states make of it' emphasize on different assumptions and customs will induce divergent models of international politics (Baylis, Smith, Owens, 2008, 164). Further Marxist thinker **Gramsci**'s theory revolves around the concept of hegemony with concept of power, in which he get inspired with Machiavelli, who accepts power as a centaur, half beast, half man: a mixture of coercion and consent. And Marxist believes that state uses force to suppress minorities. Gramsci refined it and told that it was the condition of less developed states, not the western states, so thus USA rises as a Hegemonic state. Gramsci proves that there is some or the other hegemony popular in this world, India is also a hegemonic state in the south Asian

region (Baylis, Owens, Smith, 2008, 149-150). But in the recent times where China is emerging as a superpower, its involvement in Indian neighboring states, especially littoral state like Sri Lanka is a major concern for India to maintain its hegemony. Robert Cox being one of the influential neo-Marxist analysts of world politics, talks about the possibility of "Post- Hegemonic Order" in which states agree on guidelines and norms of peaceful collaboration for correlative aid and a general outline to solve the emerging conflicts (Cox, 1992, 132-59).

At present time apart from the traditional theories, a new theory, known as "China threat Theory", has emerged. China is becoming a threat for the world peace and stability. When we look at the existing world order, rise of China seems to be against this world order (Xirong Ai, 1). China's gradual economic growth in the recent past years, made China and US to be involved in a deep competition with the absolute ability of war. The final goal of every great power is to increase its role in the global power politics and dominate the system ultimately (Mearsheimer, 2006, 105-160). In world politics, players keep emerging. At present China and India are the emerging powers and challenging the interests of other nations. After adopting open economy in 1970s, China marked a tremendous economic growth to beat US as the world's largest economy by 2030 (Goswami, 2013, 3-31).The Peaceful development theory tells how countries like India and China are trying to maximize their power and emerge as a global power by ensuring development of economic, political, military and all other sectors in a peaceful way (Xia, 2005).

Every state has its own interests and they bid to accomplish them on the basis of their status, and it changes also with change in the different scenario of international system. When they have interests to fulfill at regional or global level, they rise as global or regional power. India and China are the global powers that are trying to fulfill their regional interests (Karunarathne, 2018, 1). When we keep these theories in mind and analyze India and China's efforts, the eye moves to the island nation. For which a retired Indian army colonel and specialist, R. Hariharan stated-"Sri Lanka is the pivotal point for a global grand strategy, Sri Lanka's geography gives it an advantage disproportionate to its size" (www.cnbc.com, 24, April, 2016). It presents a strategic importance of Sri Lanka. To have a greater say at global level, control over Indian Ocean is required which is possible by having an island nation Sri Lanka on its side (Karunarathne, 2018, 8).

Literature Review

Hancock (2007): In this article Hancock tries to provide a peaceful settlement of Sri Lanka's ethnic conflict with India's role including Indo-Sri Lankan Accord of 1987. Basically Sri Lanka has faced a lot of violence, so thus it tries to find a solution of it also with the accord held with India. When the accord was signed there were other measures including India's no denial to Tamil activists group of Sri Lanka taking trainings in India and Indian Tamils sharing proximal ties with each other. The writer also analyzed the reasons behind the withdrawal of this accord and the end of India's role in Sri Lanka. Basically if we see political parties of Sri Lanka, no party was in favor of negotiating and so thus it turned to be a reason of failure of this accord. Indira Gandhi around 1983 offered this solution and it was difficult for separatist group also to deny, India could have been the only negotiator, but it could not happen. After Indira Gandhi's assassination a hope from Rajiv Gandhi was raised by Sri Lanka in 1985. Ultimately after several meetings a step was taken, Indo-Sri Lankan Accord was brought into force to solve the problems. In 1987, due to some mistrust with India and Sri Lanka, LTTE decided to declare of an independent state in northern and eastern province, India was already facing internal disturbance at that time and Sri Lankan government also come up with 3 point policy. India kept supporting Sri Lanka in all possible ways after that. Also section C, the annexure of the accord compels Sri Lanka to provide some concessions to India, where India act as a regional power and prevent any other state to access Sri Lankan ports. Finally, IPKF withdrew its troops in 1989 and with that, the accord got failed. Hancock also provided the reasons of the failure of Indo-Sri Lankan Accord. He mainly focused on India's measures to solve Sri Lankan problem by the accord of 1987, Hancock provided a detailed study of it with description of its impact on the two countries.

Mayilvaganan (2007): Mayilvaganan, in his writing, after analyzing the ongoing situations emphasized on the need to analyze re-emergence of Tamil factor in post Rajiv Gandhi assassination period. He states that India as a multi-ethnic state possess overlapping culture with neighboring state, so, when it's about Sri Lanka, Indian Tamil policy affects the relations. Tamil factor started affecting mainly with 1983's riots then Indian IPKF was sent to Sri Lanka. He describes all occasions of Tamil involvement till its end with Rajiv Gandhi assassination. Then India however decided not to be in connection with the issue but the human rights violation urged India to be part of it again. Indian

internal pressure from southern state also does not let Tamil factor be out of its policies. So, he illustrated other reasons also responsible for the re-emergence of Tamil factor in the ties. He ends up explaining Tamil factor in India's Sri Lanka policy with a suggestion for India to balance its stand on internal as well as external factors while deciding its relations with Sri Lanka.

McGilvery and Rabeem (2007): The writer analyzed that after independence two ethnic groups can be observed or seen in Sri Lanka, first Sinhala majority (mainly Buddhists), second Tamil minority (Hindu mainly). But here a group is being not counted who are Muslims or "Moors" who are called disloyal Tamil speakers by the Tamil majority and outsiders brought as laborers-termed by Sinhalese; they become the victim of government force violence as well as of LTTE torture. They constitute around one third of population in the eastern provinces Muslims also get united and in 2002 ceasefire agreement first time demanded by popular Muslim political party that they must also get an equal say in negotiating conflicts of Sinhala dominated government and the LTTE. Even the views popular in Sri Lanka shows that Muslims are not original residers of Sri Lanka, so, thus they cannot also be part of any policy deciding the future of it. The leaders denied to include them in Tamils and this led to anger and feeling of separation. But analyzing the ratio of population to provide them equal status is also not accepted by the leaders in that situation yet. Keeping in mind the stand of Sinhala freedom party and the united national parties, Muslim politicians have adopted policies of defensive state only for them. In the violence of 2006, violation of ceasefire agreement of 2002 caused a huge harm to Muslim population in northeast and the loss of resources as well, it compelled them to demand for autonomy in the region. Yet it will require gradually, consistent efforts by the Muslim politicians in the Tamil speaking region of northeast specifically. So, the struggle is going on. Mainly this article urges the need to locate the problem of this minority section to have a stable future and no protest from their side.

Chand (2010): Chand begins with need of India to have cordial ties with neighboring states like any other state. He bewares India of the existence of any external power in Sri Lanka, post 1990 phase .US emergence as a lone superpower, China and Pakistan's enhanced role and Russian hawk eye on all activities of Indian Ocean acts as threat for Indian security. He further described ties from the beginning till India has adopted new policy of not interfering in ethnic matters of Sri Lanka. He

narrated visits and dialogues made to deepen political ties pre and post civil war phase. 2009 afterwards, India is willing to be part of rehabilitation process and not being part of internal affairs of Sri Lanka. He suggests that India must ensure strong bond between Sri Lankan Tamils and Tamils of India, not only to satisfy Tamils but to certify security as well.

Dayaratne (2011): The writer begins with expectations of greater opportunities for India in Sri Lanka, where the existing super-powers are not that important and Asian countries like China and India are emerging powers. Here India needs to prevent any other country's involvement in the neighboring state. It has been announced that India's support for defense is all to stop growing China's impact in Sri Lanka. Also the Indian military support to LTTE in the initial war time is also not a secret anymore but it has been understood later by Sri Lankan Tamils and India needs to be careful of Chinese stance of building Hambantota port in Sri Lanka, even when Sri Lanka as a stable neighbor of India has assured that this will not affect to the bilateral relations.. Also the then Indian foreign secretary, Ms. Nirupama Rao visited Sri Lanka and announced of building 50,000 housing projects for the people who are the victims of war, Thus India and Sri Lanka both are trying to maintain healthy relations with each other and Sri Lanka, analyzing its interest, is maintaining a balanced role in its external affairs.

Orland (2011): The writer tells how after 1989, IPKF withdrawal from Sri Lanka, during 1980s and 1990s the relations remain of tension, but then he tries to analyze how relations normalized and friendly nature again in the second decade of 21st century can be seen. Indian former PM Manmohan Singh's focus on boosting economy and maintaining economic ties with the neighboring state helped in avoiding the political issues. Initially he depicted how India maintains the strategic relations, as too much involvement of China and Pakistan in Sri Lanka is a sign of danger. With India-Sri Lankan Accord 1987, India tried to reduce increasing US involvement in Sri Lanka during Cold war another measure was by adopting NAM. Indian agency RAW identified some different roles of support and then of strictness with the militant groups but ultimately we observed even after doing a lot, Rajiv Gandhi was assassinated as victim of this conflict and so thus India took back all its active involvement from Sri Lankan conflict. In this period, China by supplying arms and ammunition became close ally of Sri Lanka. Orland has described "Hand off "policy of India, then defense relations involving India also helps by providing training to Sri Lankan soldiers in Indian Defense

School. Both countries economic relations are also appreciable, Sri Lanka first in south Asia adopted open economy in 1978 and when India also in 1991 did so, economic ties became so strong, ISLFTA was prominent in that, Indian move of building a port, Trincomalee, is of great importance in future. In post civil war phase, a major threat for both countries relations has been also depicted here from China's arms supply and Hambantota port development in Sri Lanka. Now, India- Sri Lanka relations are uncertain but if India and Sri Lanka collectively take measures to deal with ethnic issue, relations can be strengthened.

Harjoni (2013): The writer describes that, how two countries- India and Sri Lanka have always shared close ties with each other but now a days as Indian tilt towards US has been grown and China has become more active in investing in Sri Lanka shows a separation of the close ties between both countries. In the initial stage, around 1950, Sri Lanka denied being part of China's string of pearls and the Hambantota port project was offered to India first. But some steps of India like not being part of Eelam war IV, no Indian support at the time of Sri Lankan final war against LTTE from 2006 to 2009, however India's intelligence support was there, this helped Colombo securing east first and then moving towards northward. India helped but it was not visible as of China and Pakistan. China provided whole military support by sending all arms and ammunition. India helped in rebuilding the Pallcikankesanthuraj railway line and rehabilitating the Kankesanthurai harbour. Indian Housing project of Building 1000 houses till Aug, 2012 got developed. But its political aspect got untouched. Even after problems both the governments tried to take the bilateral ties on the heights, but again when in UNHRC, India voted in favour of USA, Sri Lankan tilt increased towards China. So, the need is for India to come up as a global power, where Sri Lanka will be looking for growing ties with India, additionally, India needs to ensure, no problem from Tamil Nadu side and having good ties with its neighboring country.

Mukherjee (2013): This paper presents a detailed study of the role of Tamil factor with the centre-state understanding on the India-Sri Lanka relations. It begins when Indian former PM Manmohan Singh had to skip CHOGM meeting, held in Sri Lanka due to Tamil encumbrance. The writer precisely expounded all the domestic components stirring India- Sri Lanka relations since independence. Fundamentally, in India, Congress government was magisterial, so the problems were

less, but around 1980s, where the foreign entanglement in Sri Lanka extended, Tamil Nadu's politics started affecting centre's relations and India's relations exacerbated with Sri Lanka, due to Indian intervention there. Post 1990, this pressure marginalized and the relations became steady till 2009, but when civil war ended, Indian Tamil's demand sparked for India to support probe against Human rights violation in Sri Lanka. In this direction, India needs to evade it to defend national interests and develop relations cautiously.

Wedagedara (2013): He illustrates in terms of ethnic relation between the two countries relations, there is a lot to explain as geographically the two nations are so close to each other. But after the end of war in 2009, it was expected that now the Tamil factor, a crux of tension between the relations of two countries, will no more be creating any issue, but the Sri Lankan government's attitude to deal with this problem was not so active, which caused some problems between two countries relations. In this article Amali tries to resolve a number of questions by analyzing the role of Tamil Nadu, India and Colombo in the ethnic question. Relations between both countries are somewhere rigid and somewhere light. When we look at the ethnic problems, it first emerged in the form of Indo-Ceylon problem of citizenship. The distant among people led to war in Sri Lanka, started in 1983, when it emerged as a national problem India's involvement led to creation of the provincial council system, India also sent its peace keeping force to settle down the issue. It led to Rajiv Gandhi's assassination in 1991, so thus we saw a period of maturity of bilateral relations from 1991 to 2009.The then Sri Lankan defense secretary, Gotbhaya Rajpakse, had directly stated in his interviews and all of dealing with this problem strictly after the 2009 war end, which shows the hope for taking actions of 13th amendment. But when Rajpakse was reelected in 2010, his priorities changed. He further tried to pass the 18th amendment for implementing some other reforms. India's stand on it is of promoting a "structured dialogue mechanism", in that it follows the peaceful way to negotiate the situation. From 2009-2011, India provided a great economic assistance to Sri Lanka. Thus we see that there is a triangle where New Delhi, Colombo and Tamils issue needs to be discussed well and some essential steps needs to take place as China is also speeding its role in the island nation.

Aliff (2014): In this the writer has identified India's steps to promote peace in Sri Lanka and reasons behind failure of initiatives post civil war. It is facts that end of war do not guarantee peace. 30% of all

armed conflicts, which were quite, have also shown violence within next five years. With the brutalized step LTTE's problem has been resolved but no measure to solve the root cause of this war has been made. End of LTTE has opened new phase of India - Sri Lanka relations now India need not only be free from threat of sea tigers and air tigers(third navy), but a new threat has emerged of Sri Lankan proximities with China and Pakistan. After Rajiv Gandhi's assassination India took of its hands from Sri Lanka and Norwegian government showed interest to solve the problem of Sri Lanka. It was expected that India will not allow any foreign power in Sri Lanka but India did not raise any concern on it. From 2003-2009, India's will was only to institute peace in the region mainly at minimized price of human rights violation. In May 2009, India provided a package of US $100 Million to provide food, clothing and shelter and also to normalize life. India tried to support Sri Lanka's in all possible ways, but the loss of LTTE has led to Sri Lanka's less acceptance of Indian influence. If we see it with Tamil involvement, now more than diplomatic ties it is the leadership which defines the relations and India needs to control the recursion of Tamil Eelam issue again. On defining China-Sri Lanka ties, it is been observed that Sri Lanka has more choices of friends now, Chinese influence led India, lost its major role in Sri Lanka. Ultimately Aliff explains that post LTTE, China, Pakistan, Israel have grown proximity with Sri Lanka still India is always trying to improve ties and help Sri Lanka as a whole.

Kandaudahewa (2014): The writer shows proximal relations of both countries as sharing close geographical location with each other. Both were the victims of colonial rule around 130 years and then got independence. The relations ran smooth till 1980s before starting of ethnic war in Sri Lanka, India intervened to solve the problem but it could not get success, so thus India got aside of it. If we locate the political relations, it is largely based on two ideas one of accepting Indian supremacy over the conflict and another of friendly co-operation during time of conflict. The writer has focused on political relations around 2005 till 2014 and cultural ties between both the countries. After 2005, it was seen that relations of both countries were defined by Indian stand on the ongoing war situation in Sri Lanka, although both governments utilized all situations in order to avoid misunderstandings. He ends up explaining cultural ties and some problems that exist between India and Sri Lanka.

Sahoo (2014): Nowadays when it is a discussion of rising power countries, concern arise in context of democracy and human rights. Reviewing it only when we see a different aspect of India-Sri Lanka relations where Indian PM has boycotted Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting (CHOGM), a summit of Commonwealths of Nations of 2013 in Sri Lanka. India instead of PM sent the FM which shows India to act as a responsible emerging power for democracy. In 2011 also it was Sri Lanka to host the summit but due to wartime atrocities, it was not provided to Sri Lanka. In 2013, giving Sri Lanka a chance to maintain its global stand it was decided to held summit here and so thus it became even more popular. It has also been read that India has favored a human rights violation probe in Sri Lanka. The ministry of external affairs was of opinion that the PM by not attending the meeting will suffer politically as well as strategically. India's decision to boycott was also being started viewing as the failure of foreign policy of federal government. So, everyone has presented their own views but ultimately Sahoo concludes saying that the whole CHOGM discussion concluded India to adopt a new stand on Sri Lanka –India relations which can make Indian stand more clear strategically.

Thalpawila (2014): In this paper, Thalpawila identified India's response to restore ties with Sri Lanka post civil war period. He initiated the discussion with pre war relations and move on to the post civil war illustration that how India felicitated Sri Lanka by sending its delegation which led to deepen the ties, also Sri Lankan counterpart Mahinda Rajapaksa's visit to India has been marked a further advancement of relations. Indian involvement in Post war rehabilitation process and settlement of internally displaced persons was noticeable. The Tamil factor is also a critical issue where Indian central government is pressurized by the demands of Sri Lankan protestors to take some firm step. Thalpawila also raise the fisheries issue, where the heads of both countries have formed a Joint Working Group to deal with this hurdle in the last meet of 17th SAARC summit at Maldives. Kachchativu issue, human rights violation change probe further acts as prominent players in defining the ties. As a whole he analyzed Indian foreign policy towards Sri Lanka, which is shaped on the basis of Tamil factor and growing China and Pakistan's involvement in Sri Lanka.

Heblikar (2015): In this paper, Heblikar familiarized us with the brief complex political situation of Sri Lanka, then move on to India Sri Lanka ties' up rise especially from 2001-2015. He begins with Sri Lanka's political hold, vesting in the hands of largely four leaders as Maithripala Sirisena,

Chandrika Bandarnaike, Mahinda Rajapaksa and Ranil Wickremsinghe. He feels requisition to reconcile the needs of Indian Origin Tamils (IOT) and Muslim Tamils. He believes that Tamil factor is prime as the rehabilitation is done and redevelopment is going on, Tamil National Alliance (TNA) must raise this issue, his analysis urges India to identify a leader with keeping in mind Tamils sentiments to mediate in normalizing the relations. Sri Lankan minorities and article 13 should also be a point of debate for India to deepen ties with Sri Lanka. India - Sri Lanka ties have been revived with Modi's visit to Sri Lanka, 28 years after any Indian head. Now, India to avoid stagnated relations need to involve fisheries issue, 13th Amendment and other hurdles also to have comprehensive partnership agreement with Sri Lanka.

Khobragade (2015): It begins with the commanding of Modi government's first move to inviting neighboring countries' head in the sworn-in-ceremony of PM in 2014, including Sri Lankan counterpart, which shows the beginning of close ties with Sri Lanka again, even in 2015, government changed in Sri Lanka, Indian efforts are still visible. Sri Lankan former Foreign Minister, Mangala Samaraweera's visit also showed positivity for growing ties and solving old issues of fisheries and refugees etc. After coming into power former president Sirisena's first foreign visit to India marked way of Sri Lankan-Indian improvement of ties. Some agreements have been signed and relations improved. Modi to visit Sri Lanka after 28 years and break all myths was remarkable act in reality. India is also taking measures to help Sri Lankan improve its economic condition and Modi in his visit by worshipping in Buddhist temples tried to counter China's Buddhist card. India is not saying anything on UNHRC probe on human rights violation in order to not to affect its relations with Sri Lanka. India's interest in Sri Lanka is also due to Tamils residing there and to promote and secure its trade interests via academic way, signing of CEPA and the biggest interest is to move China away from Sri Lanka in order to maintain its regional power status. But some hurdles are also there like settlement of Tamil Sri Lankan in the region after war end, grievances of Sri Lankan and Tamil Sri Lankan people, the clash of Indian fishermen Sri Lankan navy. Further the writer has drawn various perspectives showing Indian efforts to realize China's influence in Sri Lanka and wean Sri Lanka on India's side.

Kunnummal & Pavithran (2017): India is soon going to emerge as a superpower in south Asia and at global power politics. Here it becomes necessary for it to have a satisfied neighborhood. It becomes a natural responsibility for India to end any fear of domination among its neighboring state, that are poor and most of them are victim of the colonial rule as well. India's neighbor may feel defenseless with India's rise as a regional power; He also reviewed Sikri and Muni's views about it. To be a superpower India fulfills sufficient criterion but India is lacking in having its best ties with neighbors like unable to resolve the maritime frontier dispute and also the diplomatic interventions showing the responsible nature, with Sri Lanka, the issue of Kachchatheevu island, which was solved by recognizing Sri Lankan sovereignty, but again the fisheries issue in sea is disputable yet. He described the Indian leadership, framing India's prime role with neighboring state Sri Lanka from independence till present. The Indian stance kept fluctuating but now when Modi government has occupied power, its stance to have a great relationship with neighbors is of great hopes. But now India needs to play its soft power as well as economic and military capabilities in such way which can persuade the neighbors towards it.

Kumar (2017): Earlier it was west, but now Asia emerging as new power in the world including India and China, majorly China as the 3rd largest economy of the world and emerging trading partner, will be equal to USA by 2035 and double to USA by 2050.On the one hand, where India is looking towards east, China is securing southward side where its interest in Sri Lanka arises due to strategic location, natural resources, sea route access and countering policy to India. Kumar shows the glimpse of strong Sino-Sri Lankan bilateral ties. In economic ties we observe not only via growth of mutual trade but also with advancement of founding development projects in Sri Lanka providing loans on less interest helps in strengthening the ties. China has also always been the largest weapon supplier to Sri Lanka, with a support at international platform by both countries for each other have also been observed. The reason behind it is that China never interferes in the domestic affairs of states, whereas India's involvement was observed in Sri Lanka, Although China's stand on Taiwan and Tibet issue led Sri Lanka to not allow visa to Dalai Lama. After 2005 to 2015, India's raised economic co-operation with Sri Lanka may lead to improve the relations. After the new regime came in existence in India and Sri Lanka, shift was observed, PM Modi's efforts led to improvement of relations of both countries,

but Sri Lankan counterpart Rajapaksa did not leave China and he keeps balancing both countries ties with it.

Suryanarayan (2017): Suryanarayan says if we locate the geographical location of India and Sri-Lanka, it shows the important role of both countries for each other. But still the countries shares some love- hate kind of relations. When Gandhi visited Ceylon in 1927, he said that I do not feel that I am in Ceylon, but it was to show the need of co-operation between both the countries but Sri Lankans started taking it in different sense and begin acquiring external support. When India supported Sri Lanka in 1971, to fought with Janatha Vimukti Peramuna (JVP), Sri Lanka's help came to provide refusing facilities to Pakistan against Bangladeshi Nationalist. Another concern is about the stateless people of Ceylon, who basically belong to India, known as "birds of passage" later on they settled in Sri Lanka only. The Ceylon Citizenship Act, 1948 and Indian and Pakistani Residents Act, 1949, not only drop them out of franchise right but also made them stateless. Another major issue is about conflicts of fisherman in maritime boundary, where Indian Tamilians, if reach in the territory of Sri Lanka, They have also been shot and killed by them. When it comes to Indian Tamil Nadu government, they seem to neglect this reality and this attitude leads to worsening of relations between two countries in this case it is better to let the fisherman of both countries have a conversation.

Karunarathne (2018): The writer tries to analyze India and China's role in fulfilling their interests in the island nation with a detailed study including its theoretical aspect, research methods etc. Every state has its interests and they try to fulfill them as per their international status. India and China also being emerging global powers are trying to manage their regional interests. When Chinese interests grew in Indian neighboring states, India views it as a threat to its hegemony in south Asia. In it Sri Lanka is also of importance for both countries which after the war ended in 2009, so, thus, India and China are trying to maximize their interest in this region. The writer after illustrating the methodology, talks about review of literature where the prominent scholars have talked about China's strategy of using soft power in order to turn south Asian countries in its favor. He provides the theoretical implications also of it. Further a detailed explanation of China's one belt, one road initiative has been illustrated in relation with Chinese peaceful rise or development theory. China with BRI is trying to lead the global growth and be a global power. China using its threat theory also trying by providing

funds, improving trade with south Asian small states in order to be a great power of the world. It is very difficult to prevent China expanding itself from south Asia due to its various interests. So, Thus India and China's role as both are making efforts to be global powers, in Sri Lanka becomes so important due to its strategic location in the Indian Ocean region.

Silva (2018): The writer has depicted in his write-up that how Sri Lanka is balancing its foreign policy with the rising powers' interest in Indian Ocean. When in 2015 Mathripala Sirisena got the power, his role in defeat of LTTE, and world stand on probe in Sri Lanka of war crimes on the ground of violation of Human rights etc. placed a situation that what kind of foreign policy Sri Lanka is going to have in terms of securing its interests. Sri Lanka cannot even show blind faith for India as in past, it was being observed that India has been involved with domestic opposition leaders, and turning its back towards China may stop the financial help from Chinese side as well. After 2015 election when Sirisena came in power his will to have a balanced foreign policy was being presented by him. Silva has also reviewed literature to proof what he says about how Sirisena has maintained a balanced foreign policy. Also the Chinese involvement in Trincomalee project has proved it. With theoretical implication, he also explained all events occurring at International platform showing how India and China struggle for power is there. On the one hand, where China is trying to have a leadership quality with its stand on BRI, AIIB, SCO, and India is also adopting a policy of countering its steps and securing a position of rising power in this region. Indian and Chinese both are of help for Sri Lanka, keeping it in mind Sirisena and Rajpaksa have tried to balance both, they accept that leaving a growing superpower China would be a wrong step, it maintained healthy supports for defense from Indian too. So, Sri Lanka is on the path to maintain both countries' relations together in order to ensure its development and make itself "Indian Ocean Hub".

Chaudhary (2019): In this the writer has mainly tried to depict how Sri Lanka gets benefits of Sino-Indian competition. Since 1950 only China is the largest supplier of weapons, it became more during civil war period. India's concern for it aroused when in 2014 Sri Lanka allowed Chinese submarines in Colombo port where China already have an eye on India. India did not react but the response on the situation shows the trust between New Delhi and Colombo, next is India needs to be alert of Chinese stand in Indian Ocean with increased Chinese role. India has always provided defensive weapons and

training to the Sri Lankan officers in India, but it keeps a distance from providing offensive weapons. A number of deals of sell and purchase of weapons has been made for both the countries. Slinex, Mitra Shakti, Dosti etc. were the steps to make ties closer. So, the Indian efforts have resulted in developing a special trust relationship between India and Sri Lanka, as compare to China and Sri Lankan ties.

Senanayake & Padmakumara (2019): In this paper, the writers outlined his study of contemporary India-Sri Lanka relations. Indian cornerstone by granting relief funds for natural disasters shows India's co-operation, Further Sri Lanka's foreign policy acts as an issue of concern for Indian Security. He analyses all the negative and positive aspects of India- Sri Lanka relations and then reveals the solution of it with the help of functionalism. He initiates with a brief explanation of functionalism, and then discuss the political verses of it where India- Sri Lanka's historically strong relationship, worsened with one wrong move of India of meddling in Sri Lankan civil war, have new opportunities at present. Sri Lanka must tie up with Indian IT sector and boost the bilateral ties. He highlights the efforts of the governs of both countries towards it and maneuver Sri Lanka on its stand, keeping in mind the role of two rising regional powers such as India and China. He finishes up recommending Sri Lanka must maintain its healthy ties with the rising powers and in order to push bilateral ties with India, it should avert the political discord.

Objectives

- To understand political dimensions in bilateral relations between two states.
- To identify areas of conflicts in India – Sri Lanka bilateral relations.
- To identify efforts made for co-operation between two countries.
- To analyze, India's reconstruction role in the post- LTTE Sri Lanka.
- To study role of Tamil factor in bilateral relations.
- To analyze China's influence on India - Sri Lanka relations.

Hypothesis

- Geographical proximity is the prominent dimension of bilateral relations
- Trust - Deficit is the major problem in bilateral relation.
- Mutual cooperation is the main plank of bilateral relations.

- India emerged as the major partner in Sri Lanka's post-war reconstruction and nation building process.
- Tamil factor has always encouraged in tense relations between two states.
- Sri Lanka adopted pro-China policy after the end of civil war.

Research Methodology

Research Design: - Descriptive and Analytical

Data Collection

Primary source: Government documents and opinion of the analysts of the area will be sought.

Secondary Source: The required data will be collected from Books, Journals, Newspaper and all authentic internet websites.

Significance of the study

The significance of the study can be clearly seen as India and Sri Lanka shares geographical proximity, cultural and religious affinity and Sri Lanka's location as an island nation in the Indian Ocean makes it important for India. India has been the largest trader and donor to Sri Lanka. But India's domination in the region and Sri Lanka also challenged by China's movement in Sri Lanka. As a result, with the changes to study new dimension of bilateral relations between India- Sri Lanka become more important and relevant. Further, because Sri Lanka's role as a costal neighboring state of India cannot be neglected, India devoirs to be alert with excessive Chinese involvement in Sri Lanka. So, India to have a role of "First among the equals ", urges to focus on the relations with the neighboring state. Moreover, the proposed research will be important for the foreign policy analysts, researcher and students of international relations, specially the study in South Asian region.

Chapterizartion

- Introduction
- Geopolitical dimensions of study between India- Sri Lanka
- Conflict between India and Sri Lanka
- Cooperation between India and Sri Lanka
- India's role in reconstruction process in Sri Lanka
- Tamil factor in India - Sri Lanka relations

- China's role in India - Sri Lanka relations
- Conclusion

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